

FRIENDS WITH TWO FACES

Trade union leaders talked a good fight against the Tories' new bill, but never delivered one. Raymie Kiernan looks at why—and what we can do about it >>Pages 14&15

REFUGEE CRISIS

Photographer Guy Smallman meets the refugees arriving at Europe's shores. Dave Sewell exposes how European Union leaders are responsible for the continuing crisis>>Pages 10&11



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AFTER THE PARIS ATTACKS

NO TO RACISM

NO TO WAR

THE WORLD was horrified by shootings and suicide bombings that killed at least 129 people in Paris on Friday of last week.

Our sympathy is with the victims and their families and

friends. Now French president Francois Hollande is taking advantage of the fear and grief to launch a clampdown at home—and more bombing in Syria.

David Cameron wants to do the same in Britain. He's hiring

more spooks to spy on us.

He wants cops to "shoot to kill" on our streets. Despite austerity for public services, he's found an extra £2 billion for the SAS.

And not satisfied with

bombing Iraq again, he's desperate to join the bombing of Syria too. But Isis is the product of the West's wars and racism.

More of the same is no solution. It will only bring more injustice, violence and death.

EXCLUSIVE

Moazzam Begg says resist 'the state of fear'

Moazzam Begg was a detainee in Guantanamo Bay. He spoke to Socialist Worker about the aftermath of the Paris attacks

"ONCE AGAIN Muslims are being blamed for the actions of people we reject. It's as if we have to continually condemn something we don't agree with, committed by people we have never known.

The self-censorship we have to put on ourselves says we shouldn't comment on what caused Isis to become so deadly.

It means we feel we can't talk about the reality—if you are bombing a country you can expect something to happen.



Moazzam Begg

This is what the security services have said all along. The likelihood of terrorist reprisals goes up because you are in a bombing campaign.

If you say these things, people think you are making a justification. You're not because you know people who have been butchered by Isis. But because they are from the Muslim world, nobody really cares.

What would happen if the three million Muslims in Britain sat down together and had a big condemning session?

It wouldn't prevent Isis attacks. Isis doesn't care what Muslims in Europe think, it is responding to what it sees as an assault on itself. I think it's important that everyone expresses sympathy with the victims in Paris. We should stand with them and their families, but not with the

>>continued on page 2

Full coverage pages 2,3,4,5,6



THE THINGS THEY SAY

‘Close down all Mosques, Madrasas, ban the Hijab, Burka & all religious displays in public. People dying due to this alien religion’

Ukip candidate **Adrian Howard** on Twitter

‘Why aren’t we standing up to the enemy within?’

A headline in the **Daily Telegraph** newspaper

‘Deadly threat of Britain’s enemy within’

A headline in the **Daily Mail** newspaper

‘We should be alarmed by the presence of an enemy within’

Max Hastings in the **Daily Mail**

‘Implement some admittedly harsh measures’

What Hastings wants to see to stop terrorism

‘Written in the blood of innocents, the folly of a Europe with no borders’

A headline in the **Daily Mail**



Rulers use Paris attack to silence opposition

by DAVE SEWELL

A SERIES of shootings and suicide bombings killed at least 129 people in the French capital Paris on Friday of last week.

Racists and warmongers quickly tried to turn the tragedy to their advantage.

There were attacks at six sites—on cafe terraces, in the streets and around the football stadium where the national team was playing. The bloodiest was at a rock concert.

Vanina Giudicelli and Sellouma are activists in the New Anticapitalist Party (NPA).

Vanina said, “Paris is in a state of shock. People spent the whole of Friday night checking their friends, family and colleagues were ok. But the shock at these barbaric acts hasn’t checked the speed of political actions.”

President Francois Hollande declared a nationwide state of emergency, reimposed controls at the borders and stepped up France’s bombing of Syria.

Sellouma said, “Despite the state of emergency there have been mass gatherings, such as in Place de la Republique on Sunday night. “But there is a real sense of fear. A heater at a cafe exploded and there was immediate panic. The government wants to take advantage of that fear.

“Even much of the left and the trade union movement has stopped making any demands.

“What has been silenced is the fact that France has carried out imperialist policies abroad and racist policies at home, particularly against

A vigil last weekend

There’s more on Socialist Worker online

● French activists respond to Paris attacks bit.ly/1MhRhRt

● Socialist Workers Party statement bit.ly/1RZgKRv



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GRAFFITI ON a Muslim-owned shop in the south west of France after the Paris attack

“People are in mourning. And that sadness is being turned towards nationalism—being used to stop any politics that challenges the ruling class.”

Sellouma said a plan to extend the state of emergency for three months would make France “like a dictatorship”. She said, “There will be more racist stop and searches, more arbitrary arrests.”

The political atmosphere is already overshadowed by attacks on satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and kosher supermarket Hyper Cacher in January.

Vanina said, “The debate is dominated by calls to national unity. Even leading radical left figure Jean-Luc

Melenchon has called for ‘our government to have all the means at its disposal to act as it sees fit’.

“Dissenting voices are scattered. They are those who haven’t forgotten what the national unity demanded in January meant.

“It brought authoritarian laws, more racism, a bigger audience for the far right, more French military interventions—but no real solution.”

In a statement the NPA said, “Once again, those most responsible for this onslaught of violence are calling for national unity.

“They want to turn this tragic situation to their advantage to stifle indignation and revolt. And for that they already have a scapegoat

handy—the Muslims.

“To end terrorism, we must end imperialist wars”.

On other pages...

Refugee crisis—A disaster made in Europe >>>Pages 10&11

Moazzam Begg says, ‘Resist the state of fear’

>>>from page one

governments because they are exploiting the situation.

The prime minister’s “full spectrum response” has an impact on the ordinary person, so you see Islamophobic attacks.

The attacks are fuelled by politicians and many sections of the media.

They allow the creation of the state of fear in which Muslims are living. There has been a

response from a significant section of society who recognise that the backlash will be targeted against Muslims.

That’s something we should embrace. We also need to be prepared for the



rise of the far right. When a group of people feels frightened and isolated we need to form a cordon around them and stand

shoulder with them.

Fourteen years ago George Bush and Tony Blair launched a war against terrorism to eradicate Al Qaida. Al Qaida now has more franchises than a lot of fast food chains.

If the response to the atrocities in Paris is more invasions it may create the conditions for more terrorism.”

Moazzam Begg is director of Cage and was a detainee in Guantanamo Bay

A memorial at the site of one of the attacks last weekend

Media and politicians ramp up racism after killings

IN THE first hours after the attack, journalists and politicians took to Twitter to blame Muslims and demand they disassociate themselves from the violence.

Secretary general of the Tory “Republicans” party Laurent Wauquiez even demanded “an internment camp for the 4,000 people monitored for terrorism”.

Overnight racist graffiti appeared on at least three mosques and a Muslim-owned shop.

At Evreux in northern France “death to Muslims” was sprayed on the town hall.

At gatherings to mourn the dead in Lille and Metz last Saturday, small groups of fascists were given short shrift.

But despite a number of



Armed Police in Paris

demonstrations being banned under the state of emergency, a far right protest against refugees was held ahead in Pontivy in Brittany.

Eyewitnesses reported

marchers assaulting a dark-skinned passer-by and chasing after others.

This comes in a context of deep racism in France, particularly against Muslims.

Contrary to claims widely made in the media—and echoed by Labour MP Tristram Hunt—the bloodshed was not the worst Paris has seen since the Second World War.

Over 200 Algerian protesters were killed on 17 October 1961, by police led by former Nazi collaborator Maurice Papon.

The past 20 years have seen a series of laws restricting Muslims’ rights, and there are currently moves to eliminate pork-free meals in many schools.

The fascist Front National was already expected to do well in regional elections next month. It looks set to be the main beneficiary of the crisis.

Sellouma said, “Few people are motivated to vote, given the impasse French politics has been in for several years.

“All the main parties are pushing to the right. It’s the Front National and other fascist groups that will win at this game.”

But there is potential to fight back—as underlined by a large march against racism in Paris last month.

Sellouma said, “My hope is that the effect of the attacks will push the section of the left that opposes Islamophobia to get its act together.”

France’s ruler threatens to lead a war without pity

SPEAKING FROM the site of last Friday’s worst massacre President Francois Hollande promised, “We are going to lead a war which will be pitiless.”

But France was already at war. Its forces began bombing Syria just under seven weeks ago, and Iraq a year ago. Even before the attack, Hollande announced that he would expand the campaign.

Radio presenter Pierre Janaszak had been inside the concert hall. He said of the attackers, “I clearly heard them say ‘It’s the fault of Hollande, it’s the fault of your president, he should not have

intervened in Syria’. They also spoke about Iraq.” French troops are still carrying out “operations” in Mali almost two years after an invasion.

And 2015 has been a record year for French arms exports. The US-led coalition bombing Syria allowed French forces to lead a raid on Raqqa—capital of Isis-held territory in Syria—last Sunday.

According to anti-Isis activist group Raqqa is being silently slaughtered, around 30 air strikes hit the city, cutting off water and electricity.

Places hit included Francois Hollande

“a stadium, a museum, clinics, a hospital, a chicken farm and a local governmental building.”

Sellouma said, “It’s been shocking how the lives of people in other countries seem to have much less value than the lives of people in France.

“France’s bombs are killing people blindly in Syria—and it’s completely legal, seen as completely normal.

“If anyone is arrested it should be Francois Hollande.

He doesn’t want

More border controls not the answer

POLITICIANS ACROSS Europe want to use the attacks to roll back the solidarity for refugees and create more barriers to free movement.

France re-imposed border controls with other European Union (EU) countries within the Schengen space of open internal borders. Poland’s new right wing government announced it would pull out of a EU scheme to relocate refugees (see page 11).

A passport apparently belonging to one of the suicide bombers suggested he entered the EU as a refugee, although there were doubts as to its authenticity.

But at least four of the attackers were identified as French nationals. No amount of border controls would have stopped the attacks.

The real victims of a further clampdown on refugees will be the hundreds of thousands of desperate people fleeing war and poverty. It will mean more drowned children in Europe’s seas.

Refugees in the “Jungle” camp at Calais had a disaster of their own on Friday night, as fire tore through around 50 tents. Racists took to social media to celebrate.

The state has refused to provide safe conditions for the refugees. Instead it has repeatedly sent police to attack them, firing rubber bullets and teargas.

Refugees in Calais and Dunkirk held vigils for the Paris victims on Saturday night. Far from being to blame, many have already fled Isis or similar groups.

One Afghan refugee wrote, “The attack in Paris was horrible ... we already had this bad experience in our home country, THAT’S WHY WE’RE HERE.”

State bans protests

THE NATIONWIDE state of emergency called in France after the attack is the first since the Second World War.

Hollande wants to extend it for three months and change the constitution so he can use more repressive powers without consulting parliament.

A protest by migrants set to take place last Sunday was banned.

In a statement leading anti-racist Denis Godard wrote, “In a cruel and tragic irony it’s in the area around Place de la Republique that many people were killed—the very place where the migrants’ camp was cleared out a few hours earlier.”

If the state bans the migrants’ next demo this Sunday, anti-racists must be prepared to stand with them and defy the ban.



Say no to the racist backlash after Paris

Right wing politicians and the media want to use the terrorist attacks in Paris to ramp up racism against Muslims, writes **Judith Orr**

MUSLIMS ACROSS Europe face a backlash in the wake of the Paris attacks. A deluge of media coverage portrays Islam as inherently dangerous.

Muslims who had nothing to do with the terrorist attacks are under pressure to disown them.

A full page editorial in the Sun newspaper on Monday of last week declared, “Moderate Muslims and the politically correct left must condemn more and excuse less.”

It said Muslims must “rise up” against an “industry of activists” that it claimed is filling young Muslims with hate.

But Muslims should not feel pressure to say the Paris attacks are not in their name—and some have spoken out against the racism.

Sara from Bradford told Socialist Worker, “Political leaders will use what’s happened in Paris for their own ends.

“Muslims are always made to feel like we have to justify ourselves, or even apologise when things like this happen. It’s not fair. And it’s getting worse.”

Muslims were under attack before the Paris attacks.

New laws and police powers disproportionately target them.

BACK STORY

Shootings and suicide bombings at six sites in Paris killed at least 129 people on Friday of last week

●The attacks followed military interventions by the French state and a clampdown on Muslims

●Sectarian group Isis claimed responsibility for the killings

●Rulers across Europe want to use the attacks to justify more war, racism and repression

●Their policies are responsible for the rise of Isis—and more war and racism won’t end terrorism

Muslims are more likely to be stopped and searched and imprisoned than any other section of the population.

The number of Muslims in prison has almost doubled since 2002, from 7.7 percent to 14.4 percent.

Prevent

The Tories have used the Prevent programme to intensify the crackdown.

It is now a legal requirement in the public sector to use Prevent to target Muslims suspected of

FRENCH POLICE on the streets of Paris last weekend

being “extremists”. Suspects are brought in front of a panel to be “deradicalised”.

A survey published this week exposed the reality of increased Islamophobia in Britain.

The Islamic Human Rights Commission interviewed 1,782 people. They asked the same questions asked in a 2010 survey. On every measure Muslims said Islamophobia was worse.

Around 66 percent said they had experienced verbal abuse, up from 39.8 percent in 2010.

Some 18 percent had faced physical assault. One 21 year old

woman from Bishops Stortford, in Hertfordshire, said she stopped wearing the hijab because she was “bullied so much”.

She added, “I regret doing so but in such a racist environment I find it very difficult to even fit in with the colour of my skin.”

One woman in London was “spat at, verbally attacked and stared at and mocked”.

Many Muslims blame the racist agenda pushed by politicians.

One said, “Politicians openly use Islamophobia to gain votes or notoriety and advance careers.”

David Cameron is open about

how far he wants to go in his drive to demonise Muslims.

He said that Britain had for too long been “a passively tolerant society” because it said to citizens, “as long as you obey the law, we will leave you alone.”

Now he wants to go after Muslims who might have ideas he doesn’t like.

We have to stop this racist backlash.

On other pages...

Our job is to defeat imperialism, not to “defeat Isis” >>> **Page 6**

FIGURE IT OUT

40%
of Muslims said they had seen other Muslims suffer abuse or discrimination in a 2010 survey

60%
said they had seen this in a survey published this week

85%
had encountered politicians using Islamophobic rhetoric—up from less than 60 percent



A vigil in Birmingham last weekend

Vigils for victims oppose war

PEOPLE showed solidarity with the victims of the Paris attacks at vigils across Britain including in London, Glasgow, Birmingham and Leeds.

Hundreds, including many French people working and studying in Britain, gathered in London.

In Glasgow over 100 people came, many with homemade

placards. Slogans opposed “state and all other terror” and said no to racism, Islamophobia and war.

In Leeds 200 attended a vigil where speakers spoke out against the use of these terrible events to attack Muslims, increase war and attack refugees.

They called for solidarity with all the victims of war and

terror in France, Syria, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Sudan.

Meeting—After the Paris horror, don’t let the racists divide us. No to Islamophobia. Defend civil liberties. Monday 23 Nov, 7pm, University of East London, Lecture Theatre GC101, Stratford Campus, Water Lane, E15 4LZ. Speakers include Moazzam Begg. Go to Stand Up to Racism Newham on Facebook for more details

More spies won’t stop terrorism

WHENEVER THERE is a terrorist attack the intelligence services use it to demand more resources and powers.

And they usually get them. But the spooks and clampdowns have done nothing to stop terrorism.

After the attacks on Charlie Hebdo in France in January, the government there increased attacks on civil liberties.

It didn’t stop last week’s attack. Here David Cameron is making provision for 1,900 extra security and intelligence staff.

But we don’t need more torture and rendition.

The media gloated over the “extra-judicial assassination” of “Jihadi John” last week.

There was little mention that Mohammed Emwazi had been in contact with the spooks before he joined Isis.

The spooks were also involved with the killer of Lee Rigby, Michael Adebolajo.

Adebolajo said that he had been detained and tortured in Kenya, and that MIS tried to turn him into an informer.

British governments have brought in seven major counter-terror laws since the 9/11 attacks.

The last was the draconian Counter-Terrorism and Security Act.

This escalated the Islamophobic Prevent strategy and gave far-reaching powers to the cops, government and spooks.



France has launched air strikes against Syria this year

Isis—made by the West

ISIS IS a reactionary sectarian group built among Sunni Muslims in the wake of the destruction left by the Western war in Iraq.

The West installed a Shia-dominated regime and Isis seemed to offer protection to disaffected Sunni Muslims facing discrimination from the Iraqi state.

Western attacks allow Isis to portray itself as anti-imperialist. But it thrives on sectarianism and has helped crush popular opposition to dictatorships.

Unlike other groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Isis is not organised among the mass of ordinary people.

In Syria, president Bashar

al-Assad’s bloody crackdown against the popular revolt militarised the revolution. Isis grew to be the most powerful military opposition to Assad.

Its rise partly reflects the defeat of the Arab revolutions and the weakness of the left in the region.

Isis has received funding from the monarchies of the Gulf regimes.

And with every military victory its greater geographical reach has increased its ability to raise taxes and trade.

In the West it recruits among Muslim youth alienated by years of imperialist wars and rabid racism from the state, politicians and the media.

Socialist Worker
WHAT WE THINK

REPRESSION AND WAR MAKE US ALL LESS SAFE

THE SHOCK of the terrible deaths in Paris has led to an outpouring of international solidarity from ordinary people.

But governments in the West immediately used the attacks to push repression and more war.

Both will make more attacks more likely.

Despite austerity, money is no object when it comes to arming the state. David Cameron has given the Special Armed Services (SAS) £2 billion for new equipment.

London Met police chief Bernard Hogan-Howe wants to double the number of armed cops on the street at any one time.

The ruling class is whipping up an atmosphere of fear and threat. The Tories want to use the chance to drive through legislation and extra powers.

They hope that those who objected to Theresa May’s “snoopers’ charter” may feel pressure to keep quiet about new surveillance plans.

Anyone who speaks out against increased state powers is portrayed as supporting Isis. This echoes the mood after the 7/7 Tube and bus bombings in London in 2005, when 52 people died.

greater police powers, or the threat of a new bombing campaign.

Part of the reason for Corbyn’s leadership victory was his stance against war. The Paris attacks make this position all the more vital to uphold.

State repression and ramping up imperialist interventions in Syria will not make our streets safer. More state powers will target Muslims.

New wars will mean more civilian deaths in Syria and Iraq. Bitterness and anger at the injustice of imperialist attacks and rampant racism fuel Isis.

The “war on terror” launched by George Bush and Tony Blair in 2001 made the world a more dangerous place.

The roots of the violence of Isis

We were told that the police needed more powers and guns to keep the capital safe.

Two weeks later a young Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, lay dead in a tube train after armed police gunned him down.

This is what shoot to kill means. Some Labour MPs are baying for more armed police and for a new war.

They denounce even the mildest statements by Jeremy Corbyn about the dangers of



lie in the aftermath of the West’s last wars.

The West’s intervention in the region is part of the problem not the solution.

It can seem difficult to see how individual activists can make a difference when faced with such a crisis.

But what individuals do on the ground has an impact. The mass anti-war movement against the war in Iraq won public opinion.

Blair will never escape his legacy as a warmonger.

Arguments

So we have to keep up the arguments and, where possible, the activity to build resistance to Britain joining the bombing in Syria.

We also have to stand against the poisonous racism that is being driven from the top of society by the press barons and the Tories. The ruling class wants to divide us.

Ukip’s leader Nigel Farage has reached new lows with his attacks on Muslims and refugees, but he is not alone.

The racist backlash is being driven by the mainstream.

Muslims already report that Islamophobia is on the increase (see page 4). There is a great danger of this escalating further.

Within days of the Paris attacks one Muslim couple in Fife in Scotland suffered a violent assault by a gang of 15. The victims were taunted about Isis and Paris.

There are also calls for new controls on refugees, even though Britain has accepted too few already. But refugees are fleeing violence—they are not the cause of it.

We need to build grassroots resistance to violence, war and racism today. And we need to organise for the future to replace the system that breeds them.

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ANALYSIS

ALEX CALLINICOS



Our job is to defeat imperialism, not Isis

POSITIVELY THE stupidest thing said about the Paris attacks came from the French president, Francois Hollande, when he denounced them as an “act of war”. Of course they were, but this war didn’t start on Friday of last week.

At the very latest it began with the Gulf War of 1990-91, the first in the present cycle of imperialist interventions in the Middle East.

This doesn’t make the shootings and bombings in Paris part of a legitimate anti-imperialist struggle.

Indiscriminate killing of civilians is wrong whether it is carried out by Isis and its sympathisers or by the US and its allies.

But it’s a mistake to see the conflict as a symmetrical one between two equal evils, as many on the left do.

Isis is a reactionary and counter-revolutionary movement. But it is a product of the destruction wreaked in Iraq by the 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation and of the defeat of the Arab Spring.

The ultimate responsibility for its rise therefore lies with the Western imperialist powers and their local clients.

Labour shadow justice secretary Lord Falconer—as a cabinet minister of Tony Blair’s a supporter of the 2003 invasion—talked a lot about “defeating Isis” on last Sunday’s Andrew Marr show.

This phrase has been taken up even by the Stop the War Coalition, which mobilised so strongly against that invasion.

But “defeating Isis” is empty chatter given the present situation in Syria and Iraq, where it has its strongholds.

Patrick Cockburn wrote recently in the London Review of Books, “A couple of years ago in Baghdad an Iraqi politician told me that ‘the problem in Iraq is that all parties are both too strong and too weak: too strong to be defeated, but too weak to win.’”

“The same applies today in Syria. Even if one combatant suffers a temporary defeat, its foreign supporters will prop it up: the ailing non-IS part of the Syrian opposition was rescued by Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey in 2014 and this year Assad is being saved by Russia, Iran and Hezbollah.”

Defeats

The same is true even of the imperialist powers—the US and Russia—now dabbling in Syria. After their defeats in Iraq and Afghanistan respectively, neither wants to commit ground troops on a significant scale. So they just lob bombs and missiles into Syria. The futility of these measures was summed up the day of the Paris attacks.

David Cameron held a special press briefing outside 10 Downing Street to preen over Britain’s role in the claimed drone killing of Mohammed Emwazi.

Within hours we had concrete proof that such “acts of self defence” offer citizens in the West absolutely no protection.

Isis has built up a formidable fighting machine based on a mixture of organised plunder and ideological zeal. It channels in a distorted way the anger and hatred provoked by Western intervention.

Lydia Wilson writing in The Nation magazine interviewed captured Isis fighters in Kirkuk, in Iraq. She describes them as “children of the occupation”.

“They are not fueled by the idea of an Islamic caliphate without borders; rather, Isis is the first group since the crushed Al Qaeda to offer these humiliated and enraged young men a way to defend their dignity, family, and tribe.”

Only a revival of the Arab revolutions can generate the social force strong enough to take Isis on—above all by offering a better way of resisting imperialist domination and overthrowing the local ruling classes.

Cameron made the connections crystal clear when he stood outside Downing Street a week or so before the Paris killings to greet president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, the butcher of the Egyptian Revolution.

Vowing to respond to the Paris attacks with “pitiless war”—as Hollande did—simply means that the vicious cycle of intervention and atrocity will continue, with escalating deaths and suffering in both the Middle East and the imperialist centres.

Here in the West, we can’t “defeat Isis”. But we can help break the cycle by building mass movements that put an end to our rulers’ imperialist bullying.

Lebanon’s elite turns terror backlash against refugees

Farah Olfat Kobaissy reports from Beirut in the aftermath of last week’s deadly suicide bomb attack

SUICIDE bombings rocked the Burj El-Barajneh suburb of Beirut, Lebanon, on Thursday of last week, causing the deaths of 43 people and injuring hundreds.

Isis claimed responsibility for the attacks.

Before the martyr’s blood had dried, the political powers raced to exploit this crime and the people’s feelings of grief, fear and terror.

These explosions come as a blow to the popular movement that has been occurring in Lebanon.

People protested against the state’s failure to find an environmental solution for waste disposal and the consequent build-up of rubbish in the streets.

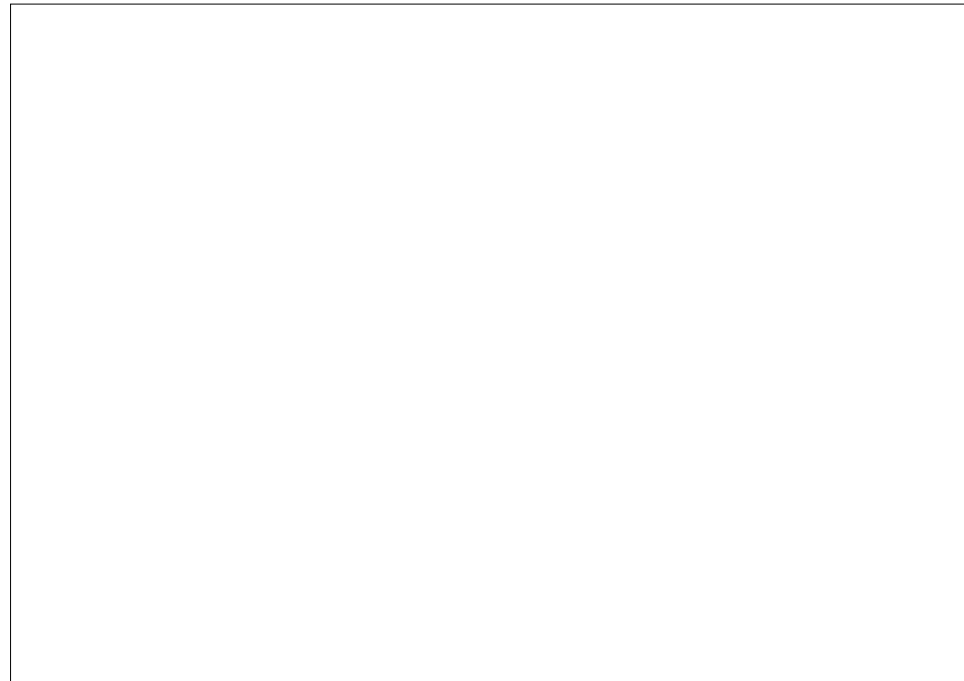
The demonstrations reached their peak on 29 August. Tens of thousands of people converged to protest against both poles of Lebanon’s divided ruling class. They contested the unprecedented state violence at a previous demonstration.

Movement

This protest movement, despite limitations, has been capable of raising social and economic issues that concern everyone in Lebanon.

This terrorist act pushes these unifying demands behind “security concerns”. It has helped the political powers reach compromises.

Another cause for concern is the danger that the current regime will further



THE AFTERMATH of a suicide bombing in Beirut (above), Syrian dictator Bashar al Assad (left) could benefit

those who are most marginalised and deprived—such as refugees, the poor and the unemployed.

These terrorist explosions also serve the dictatorships in the region. This includes the Assad regime in Syria which claims it is waging its own war on terror.

Regimes

And so all the regimes, from the east to the West, have enlisted themselves into a single camp to fight the monster they created.

Shamefully, Lebanese resistance organisation Hizbollah had already joined Assad’s forces in fighting the Syrian revolution.

We must not confront terrorism through more security

raise its racism towards refugees. There are more than 1.3 million Syrian refugees in Lebanon, in addition to a longstanding Palestinian refugee population.

There is no hope for progressive politics in the shadow of demands of militarisation, surveillance and police violence.

This security system will first and foremost target

and martial law, but through putting an end to the militarily reinforced foundations of terrorism. This means an end to the absence of freedoms and social justice, an end to confessional, sectarian and racist incitements.

We call for Hezbollah’s immediate withdrawal from Syria, and an end to the continued political, economic and legal exclusion of Palestinian refugees. All refugees must be granted their rights, including Syrian refugees.

And we call on all people to keep expanding the popular movement that is opposed to the current regime.

Farah is part of the editorial committee of Al Manshour (Socialist Forum) in Lebanon

West’s bombs don’t bring liberation

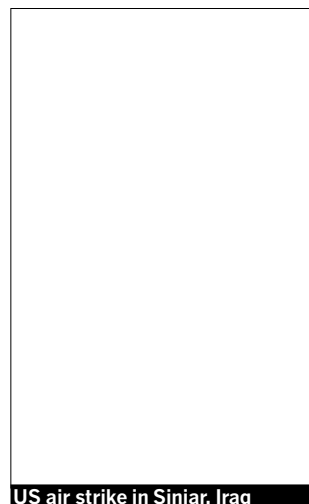
THE US has launched new extended airstrikes in eastern Syria. French jets bombed the city of Raqqa.

The US targeted convoys of oil tanker trucks. Such vehicles were previously avoided because of the risk of civilian casualties.

Over 130 people are killed on average every day in Syria. They suffer at the hands of regime forces, Western bombs and Isis.

That is why millions of refugees have left.

US airstrikes called in by Kurdish forces saw the Iraqi city of Sinjar retaken. Isis captured it last year,



US air strike in Sinjar, Iraq

driving out thousands of Kurds and Yazidi people.

Its recapture cuts off Isis’ supply route to Raqqa.

But the West is not a liberator. It wants to secure control in Syria and Iraq. It doesn’t care about ordinary people—as shown by its treatment of refugees who escape.

David Cameron faces opposition to plans for Britain to join the bombing of Syria, but he is not giving up. He said, “I need to build the argument.”

The last thing the people of Syria need is more airstrikes and bombs.

IN THIS WEEK

1927

Striking miners machine gunned

COPS AND private guards attacked unarmed strikers and their families at the Columbine Mine in Colorado on 21 November.

Machine guns were fired at the 500 strong crowd of workers, killing six and injuring dozens.

Workers get organised to take on Tory austerity

by RAYMIE KIERNAN

THERE WAS a defiant mood at last Saturday's Unite the Resistance (UTR) conference in central London.

Up to 500 trade unionists and anti-austerity campaigners shared lessons from a year's struggle against the employers and a Tory government.

Workplace delegations such as those from Bristol NHS, Donnington Defence Support Group, Doncaster and Portsmouth councils plus groups of fast food workers joined the debates. Others included disabled rights and housing activists, migrant workers and students.

Combating the Tory anti-union laws was the dominant theme.

The firefighters' FBU union general secretary Matt Wrack reflected the tensions within the TUC over strategy to fight the laws.

He argued against appealing to 330 Tory MPs instead of looking to the power of 6.5 million trade unionists.

He said, "If we're serious about beating this law we're going to have to build a mass movement that can ultimately make the law irrelevant."

Employment rights barrister John Hendy warned that anyone who thinks the effects of the Trade Union Bill could be defeated in the courts was "living in a wonderland".

Michael Bradley from UTR's national committee recalled the unofficial action from below that smashed anti-union laws in the past and said the TUC should act.

He said, "The first time they use the legislation we need to make sure they think twice about using the legislation ever again."

Discussions drew on the experience of some of the key industrial struggles from the last year.

Lesson

Reinstated National Gallery PCS union rep Candy Udwin said, "It's completely obvious that we need national coordinated action. But the lesson from our strike is that we can't just wait for that national action to be called."

One workshop explored how strikes can win. Discussions ranged from how to win official backing from your union to using social media to boost campaigning.

It emphasised solidarity—how it can boost striking workers' confidence and sustain their fight but also how organising it helps build workplace organisation elsewhere.

And it was also an opportunity for newer reps to learn.

"Forums like this are hugely beneficial," Pete Edwards told Socialist Worker. He recently became a PCS union rep at the Maritime and Coastguard Agency (MCA). MCA is



A DELEGATION of Unite union members from Bristol NHS (above) came to the Unite the Resistance conference. Cathy, second from right, said, "Health unions need to work together and fight." Health workers marched between workshops at the event (left)

PICTURES: SOCIALIST WORKER

planning 30 percent cuts that could mean office closures.

Pete said, "I'm trying to work out the way forward in my workplace. So it was great to get questions answered about getting organised and draw on the collective experiences."

St Mungo's Unite union rep Stuart spoke in the workshop.

He told Socialist Worker how regular mass meetings strengthened workers to take on arguments and build the action.

He said this was "fundamental" to the success of their strike last year.

Stuart thought there was a lesson in that for the fight nationally.

He said, "This government is scared of the unions—we have the power if we stand united."



On other pages...

Unofficial post strike delivers blow against bosses and law >>> **Page 19**

'Fight for better leadership'

THE CONFERENCE hosted a number of workshops, including on fighting racism and defending benefits.

The workshop on defending the health service took place against the backdrop of a growing NHS crisis.

But people were boosted by the junior doctors' revolt (see page 20).

Many health workers were frustrated that other union leaders are not leading a fight.

But Karen Reissmann of the Unison union's health service group executive urged people to push for it.

"We have to fight for better leadership in our unions," she said.

The session on unorganised workplaces was very practical.

Activists discussed how to contact workers from the outside and overcome the "fear factor" that puts people off joining a union.

Nando's worker Jade Clarke said, "People see trade unions as a scary thing—they're worried they'll expose themselves to victimisation."

But she said that the best way to overcome that was to talk to co-workers about how being in a union can help improve things. And she said protests outside by other campaigners helped too.

Workers spoke in a personal capacity

IN BRIEF

No more Bloody Sunday arrests

POLICE IN Northern Ireland have given a commitment not to arrest any more former soldiers over the Bloody Sunday killings.

The army killed 14 civilians by shooting at a civil rights march in Derry in 1972.

A judicial review application by seven former soldiers who could face questioning is set to be heard next week.

Last week, the police made their first arrest over the Bloody Sunday killings, questioning a 66 year old former member of the Parachute Regiment.

Protest against Nigel Farage

STAND UP to Ukip was set to hold a protest in central London against party leader Nigel Farage on Friday of this week.

Farage was due to speak as part of his Say No To EU tour.

He wants to use the European

Wipe the smile from Farage's face

Union (EU) referendum to whip up racism against migrants.

Racism Out of The Referendum—Farage Not Welcome In London 6.30pm, 20 November Emmanuel Centre, London SW1P 3DW standuptoukip.org

Welfare tests linked to suicide

THE GOVERNMENT'S "Fit for Work" tests for disability and sickness benefits are linked to mental health problems and suicide in poorer areas.

Researchers from Oxford and Liverpool universities compared suicide and mental illness rates to the number of assessments in different areas.

Fresh revelations on Hillsborough

A 19 year old victim of the Hillsborough football disaster was alive after the match had been stopped, inquests have heard.

Professor Jerry Nolan said evidence gave a "reasonably firm anchor" that victim Sarah Hicks was alive between 3.06pm and 3.08pm on the day.

The inquests continue.

More on socialistworker.co.uk

POLAND

Mass march of fascists in Warsaw

AROUND 40,000 fascists and their extreme nationalist supporters marched in Warsaw on Wednesday of last week—Polish Independence Day.

In previous years up to 4,000 fascists would break off from the official government-supported nationalist march and fight riot police.

This year they took over the march completely, forcing government ministers to address a small, static event in the main square.

The large fascist demo gained support from across society.

Many young women and families with children joined Nazi groups under the anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant slogan, “Poland for the Poles, Poles for Poland.”

Many people marched behind White Power banners. There were swastikas and even illegal

Fascists marching in Warsaw

banned fascist symbols.

Numerous international delegations were present, the biggest from Hungarian fascist party Jobbik. Young men wore “SS” T-shirts. Many were masked and drawn from football and biker Nazi gangs.

Marchers carried anti-Muslim banners and chanted racist slogans. They were not challenged despite a substantial police presence.

When the march reached the football stadium most of the softer nationalists went home. This left a huge core of chanting Nazis as far as the eye could see.

The far right Law and Justice party, which is more extreme than Ukip in Britain, has been successful in recent elections.

Votes for the fascists have gone down but their street presence has increased considerably.

Last Wednesday’s march massively dwarfed a small but vibrant protest held in support of refugees the previous Saturday.

Margaret Woods

General strike in Greece showed a mood to fight

by PANOS GARGANAS in Athens

THE GENERAL strike in Greece on Thursday of last week was a bigger success than anyone expected. No boats, no trains and no planes moved.

In Athens the Metro stopped all day, as did buses in the morning and evening.

On the strike demonstration there were groups of workers—bank staff for example—who haven’t had an organised contingent since 2011.

It was the biggest strike demonstration since the huge strikes that brought down the government of technocrats in 2012.

Before the official rally, a march organised by the Communist Party stretched for around a kilometre.

So did a feeder march from the Archaeological Museum with a big presence of the anti-capitalist left front Antarsya. The official rally in front of parliament was huge.

This was bigger than, or at least comparable to, the rally for the No vote in July’s referendum when left wing prime minister Alexis Tsipras spoke.

The message was clear. People may have voted for Tsipras’ party Syriza in the election. But that doesn’t mean they accept what his government does. He may have electoral control, but he can’t control people’s reaction to austerity.

By the eve of the strike Syriza was even pressured to announce its own token support.

Their line was that the strike would strengthen their hand in negotiations with the “Troika” of Greece’s institutional creditors.

But the government has already given in to the Troika on the issues at stake. It’s implementing pension cuts, and more cuts are coming.

Parliament has already voted to increase the retirement age to 67.

And existing pensioners will have their payments cut because they retired younger than that.

That’s before the main bill on pensions has even reached parliament.

Revealed

Government documents released the day before the strike revealed that pensions will be cut by ending the link to final salaries.

The pressure is on for unions to call another general strike on the day that bill reaches parliament.

The Troika is using its support for bailed out Greek banks to blackmail the government into bringing it forward to this month or next at the latest.

A number of other disputes are developing with more strikes expected in shipping, local government and hospitals. And a



WORKERS JOINED big protests during last week’s general strike in Greece

PICTURE: WORKERS SOLIDARITY

demonstration to mark the anniversary of the 1974 Polytechnic uprising against Greece’s military dictatorship, taking place as Socialist Worker went to press, was expected to be very big.

Teachers and students, angry at underfunding and understaffing in education, were set to turn out in large numbers.

The right has tried to use the refugee crisis to attack Syriza. But instead the government is under pressure from the left.

A debate is opening up about the alternatives.

When right wing governments implemented austerity, people could hope for a left government to replace them and end it.

Now that prospect is gone, some argued that people would be disappointed and the strikes would flop. That has not been the case.

Others—in the Communist Party and the Popular Unity split from Syriza—argue that we must now go for a “real” left government.

But the prospect of that happening is very remote. In electoral terms both are far too small.

People went out on strike and demonstrated despite this. They can see that workers’ own action can force the government to make a U-turn and stop implementing austerity.

Panos Garganas is editor of Socialist Worker’s Greek sister paper Workers Solidarity

Portugal’s left coalition wants cuts compromise

LEFT WING parties were expected to form a government in Portugal this week. A vote of no confidence on Tuesday of last week brought down the shortest-lived government since Portugal’s revolution, lasting just 11 days.

The right wing Portugal Ahead slate won more MPs than any other party in last month’s election. But the Labour-type Socialist Party (PS), the Communist Party and the more radical Left Bloc had more between them.

They have reached a coalition agreement including a halt to privatisations, a reversal of public sector wage cuts and an unfreezing of pensions.

But they also commit to paying Portugal’s debt, which European institutions have used to enforce austerity.

Even leading Left Bloc member Francisco Louca warned that without “debt restructuring”, “there will be no leeway to resist external pressures”.

Last time the PS was in

Socialist Party leader Antonio Costa

government it began Portugal’s bailout and made it easier to sack workers.

This may be why the prospect of a new government that sounded like it should frighten the bankers calmed bond markets.

A rejection of the Socialists’ austerity saw the Left Bloc get its biggest ever vote.

If a PS budget brings new attacks on workers, socialists need to lead fights against them—not be in government backing them.

United we can defend tax credits

SEVERAL OF my work colleagues are affected by brutal Tory plans to slash tax credits.

One, a young mother, uses tax credits to top her wages up and pay for childcare while she is at work.

She told me that she's angry at the attack because without tax credits she couldn't work.

She said the Tories are lying when they say they want to "make work pay" and said she would support action to stop this cut.

The Norwich People's Assembly monthly forum meeting discussed the cut and what to do about it.

We agreed to work out how much different workers would lose and for unions to conduct a survey of their members.

We hope that resistance will really kick off as the cut is fully implemented next year.

Since the meeting the Tories have been defeated in the House of Lords on the tax credit changes.

But there will be future attempts to push this through.

We can't look to parliament or the Lords to protect us—we must act from below.

Some 3.3 million workers in public and private workplaces, unionised and non-unionised, young and old, will be affected by the cut.

Resistance could easily unite different groups of workers in a generalised fightback.

Tim Knight-Hughes

Unite union member and call centre worker



ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

Bute shows how anti-refugee racism can be pushed back

DESPITE THE daily diet of migrant-bashing that has dominated the media in recent months, not everybody has been taken in by this mean, racist narrative.

People have set up refugee support groups and collected food and clothing for the camps. A very small number of councils have agreed to provide accommodation for refugee families.

One of these is on the Isle of Bute, not far from Glasgow.

About 15 Syrian families who fled the bombing and have been living in refugee camps in Lebanon will arrive in a few weeks' time.

Bute is an economically depressed area which is being

hammered by Tory austerity.

But the response of most islanders to the refugee crisis has been positive.

A couple of speakers from Syria addressed an audience in the Rothesay Library recently as part of the Scottish International Storytelling Festival.

They had been scheduled to talk about the storytelling traditions of Syria. But, in answers to questions, they described the horrors of living in a country ravaged by war and the plight of refugees.

It was an uplifting meeting and has been followed up by an excellent comment piece in the local paper, *The Buteman*.

The editor noted, 'There have,

predictably but depressingly, been grumbles about how we should look after our own first'. He rightly said this amounts to saying, "I don't want them in my backyard".

His response was, 'Well I do. "I want Bute to be a place where people who come here with little more than the clothes they are standing in can feel safe and at home."

Library staff took the Syrian speakers around all three schools on the island where they conducted lively question and answer sessions with the kids.

Jack Robertson

Port Bannatyne, Isle of Bute

The speakers mentioned here have a website called talkingsyria.com

Just a thought...

Can't live on 'living wage'

CAN WE start referring to the so-called "Living Wage" as the "subsistence wage". It's a more accurate term.

Mathew Flynn
Bradford

Protectionism to save steel?

THE STEEL cuts demonstrate the need for renationalisation.

The government's industrial strategy should look at protectionism.

Public infrastructure projects could use British steel and bring much needed demand into the sector.

Oliver Steward
on Twitter

Don't glorify bloody wars

OUR RULERS call the uniformed victims of war "heroes".

That implies there was a good purpose for their deaths—and encourages others to sign up for more slaughter.

Juliet Richardson
Swansea

Tory boost for fossil fuels

THE GOVERNMENT is increasing fossil fuel subsidies and tax breaks.

How fitting that the report that pointed this out was called "Empty Promises".

Hannah Cooper
Bristol

Cameron says no to the cuts

DAVID Cameron's letter to Oxfordshire County Council is beyond belief.

Cameron was angry about the savage cuts imposed on councils by Cameron's government.

If only Cameron was in a position to do something about them.

Sasha Simic
East London

Learn from US students

AFTER RECENT student protests in South Africa and Crete, I was delighted to see students kicking off on campuses in the US last week.

If it can happen in Missouri, perhaps it can happen here too.

Sam Dyson
Peterborough

College cuts will leave us with fewer options

THE SCALE of cuts the Tories want to make in further and adult education is becoming clearer.

They don't value colleges because they don't use them, and they don't send their children to them.

Colleges are mainly for working class people to get an education, and often to get a second chance in life.

One report last week said that the cuts could mean four out of ten colleges would close or be merged.

This is a massive attack on working class people.

Like lots of my friends I went to college because it seemed the only way to get a half decent job.

We have been put off university because tuition fees would leave us with debt for life.

If the Tories get their way, working class people will have even fewer options in life.

I was glad to see the lecturers strike last week. We have to fight to stop these cuts.

Lizzie Ross
Sheffield

Cuts give bullying bosses the green light

I WORK in children services in a local authority in one of the most deprived areas of England.

Myself and my colleagues are the first point of contact for people reporting concerns about the safety and welfare of children.

The media at the moment is obsessed with child abuse scandals and often focus on the local authorities where they are exposed.

But it never focuses on the staff who work hard to protect children but



Bully bosses can make life hell

live with a constant threat of losing their jobs.

Budget cuts have created a climate where managers can openly bully staff and pretty much get away with it. I have experienced

management bullying and I'm sure the same pressures and tactics are used in children's services in other areas too.

Staff have been verbally abused.

Managers have also threatened to derecognise our Unite union.

But the fights of Sandy Nicoll, Candy Udwin and others give me confidence that I can win.

We should all stand together with those who suffer bullying and harassment—from a manager or anyone else.

Name and address provided



An Iraqi man carries his traumatised daughter from a dinghy onto the shore on the Greek island of Lesbos (below)



Ahmad Abdi distributing much needed milk and baby food to Afghan refugees in Victoria Park in Athens (below). The aid had been bought with money raised by the Athens Somali community. He said,

"I was once myself a refugee. I could not stand by and do nothing. We are pleased to be helping our brothers and sisters in their time of need. But shouldn't the UN be doing this?"



A DISASTER MADE IN EUROPE

DISCARDED LIFEJACKETS litter the beach along the coastline of Lesbos (above). Thousands of people are making the crossing every day from Turkey



Another 14 people drowned off the Greek island of Lesbos last week. Photographer **Guy Smallman** (right) met the refugees arriving at Europe's shores and the people helping them. **Dave Sewell** exposes how European Union leaders claim to be offering "support" but in reality are responsible for the continuing crisis

LESVOS IS the testing ground for the European Union (EU)'s new strategy for dealing with refugees—a network of "first reception centres" or "hotspots".

The first hotspot opened in Moria outside Lesbos' capital Mytilini in September. There are now others in the old Olympic stadium in Athens and on the islands of Lampedusa and Sicily in southern Italy.

These are presented in part as a humanitarian measure, offering refugees shelter and helping "relocate" them from Italy, Greece and Hungary to new homes elsewhere.

It's true that many refugees want help to go elsewhere. But the hotspots aren't there to help them—they exist to reassert control over them.

The jargon is revealing. "Hotspot" comes from US police talk of "crime hotspots". EU border countries are called the "frontline" as if the situation is a war.

A recent EU "Action plan for return" underlined the aim of keeping out or deporting most of those arriving. EU rulers want to divide so-called "real" refugees from what they dismiss as "economic migrants".

The distinction is arbitrary. People qualify for relocation if 75 percent of asylum seekers from their countries in Europe are accepted—in practice only Syrians, Eritreans and Iraqis.

The system relies on fingerprinting new arrivals at the hotspots.

There are rules against using force.

But Italy has said it will use "proportionate" force so migrants are "verbally convinced". This means lying to them.

Italian government immigration chief Mario Morcone said migrants are told that being fingerprinted "is important to go to the countries where they want to go".

But being fingerprinted in Italy will give other EU states grounds to reject the vast majority and could get them deported.

Even if the hotspots were there to help refugees, they would be failing the vast majority.

Moria has room for up to 480 people on an island where thousands of refugees land every week.

Most are stuck outside with no support beyond that provided by volunteers. At night they face beatings and tear gas from riot police.

The hotspot in Pozzallo, Sicily, crams 250 people into a warehouse. The one in Lampedusa is simply a rebranding of facilities that have been there for years.

So far fewer than 200 refugees have been "relocated", out of a promised 160,000. And this figure is tiny compared to the millions of refugees expected over the coming years.

Those who are relocated don't get a choice about where they go. Refugees seeking to join relatives or find work in one country could be sent hundreds of miles away. Morcone's deputy Angelo Malandrino said, "We try not to



A Greek woman cares for an Iraqi baby (above) while his mother retrieves her three other children from the dinghy from which they had just arrived on the beach from Turkey



An Iraqi man hugs his wife with relief after making the sea crossing from Turkey to the island of Lesbos in Greece (left). The rubber dinghy they were travelling in was designed for eight people and carrying over 40. The sea is unusually calm for the time of year. The exodus is expected to have far more fatal consequences when winter arrives

think about it, so as not to get demoralised."

The hotspots are "closed" to stop refugees escaping, but lack of capacity sees them rapidly transferred to "open" centres.

Fabrice Leggeri, head of EU border force Frontex, hopes to stop this. "We need detention centres," he said. He has called for sending "thousands of border guards" to Greece.

Britain hasn't participated in the hotspot relocation scheme. Instead its government is turning the border at the French port of Calais into a fortress.

Cops attacked refugees camped there with tear gas and rubber bullets on three nights last week to stop them protesting.

But David Cameron joined an EU summit with African leaders in Malta last week to toughen the barriers refugees face long before they reach Europe.

Outrageously this included senior figures from the regimes many refugees are fleeing, such as those in Eritrea and Sudan.

Whether outside or inside Europe, whether presented in humanitarian or security terms, these measures have the same objective.

The "flows" that have defied border controls must be stopped. Refugees can be seen as a threat, as objects of pity or as sources of cheap labour. But they cannot shape their own destiny.

To really solve the crisis means taking the opposite side.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties.

We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to www.swp.org.uk or phone 020 7840 5602 for more information

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } PUBLIC MEETINGS

GLASGOW

Women and the rent strike

Wed 25 Nov, 7.15pm,
Govanhill Baths,
99 Calder St,
G42 7RA

LONDON: HORNSEY AND WOOD

GREEN AND TOTTENHAM

Climate change—what can we do to reverse it?

Wed 25 Dec, 7.30pm,
St John Vianney Church Hall,
386 West Green Rd,
N15 3QL

MANCHESTER

Marxism and Women's Liberation

Book launch with
author Judith Orr
Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Friends Meeting House,
6 Mount St,
M2 5NS

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

ABERDEEN

How can Palestine be free?

Thu 26 Nov, 6pm,
Belmont Cinema Cafe,
49 Belmont St,
AB10 1JS

BARNSELEY

Islamophobia and the changing face of racism in Britain

Thu 26 Nov, 6.30pm,
YMCA, Blucher St,
S70 1AP

BOLTON

Who was Leon Trotsky?

Wed 2 Dec, 6.30pm,
Bolton Socialist Club,
16 Wood St (off
Bradshawgate),
BL1 1DY

BRADFORD

Why did Syriza fail?

Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Equity Centre,
Perkin House,
82 Grattan Rd, BD1 2LU

BRIGHTON

Suffragettes—how did women win the vote?

Wed 2 Dec, 7.30pm,
Friends Meeting House,
Ship St,
BN1 1AF

BRISTOL: NORTH

Greece—the return of resistance

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
5th Floor, The Canteen,
Hamilton House,
80 Stokes Croft,
BS1 3QY

BRISTOL: SOUTH

Imperialism and the drive to war

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
YHA, Narrow Quay,
BS1 4QA

CHESTERFIELD

Why we need to scrap Trident

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
Chesterfield Library,
New Beetwell St,
S40 1QL (enter via the
Cafe Browser entrance)

COVENTRY

Has the Labour left got momentum?

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
West Indian Centre,
159 Spon St,
CV1 3BB

DERBY

How do we fight for women's liberation today?

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
West End Community Centre,
Mackworth Rd (next
to Britannia Mill),
DE22 3BL

EDINBURGH

Can we scrap Trident and still save jobs?

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Friends Meeting House,
7 Victoria Terrace, EH1 2JL

Capitalism vs the climate— how do we stop environmental disaster?

**BIRMINGHAM
PUBLIC MEETING**
With Martin Empson.
Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Birmingham LGBT Centre,
38/40 Holloway Circus,
B1 1EQ

DONCASTER

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Women's Centre,
21 Cleveland St,
DN1 3EH

DUNDEE

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Dundee Voluntary Action,
10 Constitution Rd,
DD1 1LL

LANCASTER

Thu 3 Dec, 7.15pm,
Friends Meeting House
Meeting House Lane,
LA1 1TX

LONDON: BRENT & HARROW

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
The Peppercot Centre,
1a Thorpe Close,
Ladbroke Grove,
(very close to the
station), W10 5XL

EXETER

Can the Labour Party bring real change?

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
New Horizon Cafe,
47 Longbrook St, EX4 6AW

HARLOW

How we beat the anti-union laws in the past and how we can do it today

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
Friends Meeting House,
1 Church Leys, CM18 6BX

HUDDERSFIELD

Has the Labour left got momentum?

Wed 25 Nov, 6.30pm,
Brian Jackson House, 2 New
North Parade (near both train
and bus stations), HD1 5JP

KIRKCALDY

Lessons from the 1917 Russian Revolution

Mon 7 Dec, 7.30pm,
Betty Nicol's pub,
297 High St, KY1 1JL

LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

How do we fight racism and fascism?

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
The Swarthmore
Education Centre,
2-7 Woodhouse
Square, LS3 1AD

LONDON: CAMDEN

Is religion oppressive?

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
Theatro Technis,
26 Crowndale Rd, NW1 1TT

LONDON: HORNSEY AND WOOD GREEN

How can Palestine be free?

Wed 2 Dec, 7.30pm,
West Indian Cultural
Centre, 9 Clarendon Road,
Haringey, N8 0DD

LONDON: LEWISHAM

Does the working class still have the power to change the world?

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
West Greenwich Community
and Arts Centre,
141 Greenwich High Rd (near
Greenwich main line and
DLR Station), SE10 8JA

LONDON: TOWER HAMLETS

Can Corbynomics work?

Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Oxford House,
Derbyshire St
(opp Bethnal Green Rd Tesco),
E2 6HG



Time to Act climate demonstration earlier this year

(PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER)

LONDON: BRIXTON

Wed 2 Dec, 7pm,
Vida Walsh Centre,
2b Saltoun Rd (near
Effra Rd, facing
Windrush Square),
SW2 1EP

LONDON: EALING

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
West London Trade Union Club,
33-35 High St,
Acton,
W3 6ND

LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

How can Palestine be free?

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Quaker Meeting House,
1a Jewel Rd (off Hoe St),
E17 4QU

MANCHESTER: CHORLTON

75 years since his murder—Trotsky and Trotskyism today

Wed 2 Dec, 7pm,
Chorlton Central Church
Meeting Room,
Barlow Moor Rd,
M21 8BF

MANCHESTER: CITY CENTRE

The revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx

Thu 3 Dec, 7pm,
Friends Meeting House,
6 Mount St,
M2 5NS

NEWCASTLE

Capitalism in crisis—why Marx was right

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
Broadacre House,
Market St,
NE1 6HQ

NORTHAMPTON

Can change come through Parliament?

Wed 9 Dec, 7.30pm
The Lab,
95-97 Charles St,
NN1 3BG

LONDON: HACKNEY

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
The Round Chapel,
2 Powerscroft Rd (corner
Lower Clapton Rd),
E5 0PU

LONDON: NEWHAM

Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Stratford Advice Arcade,
107-109 The Grove (next
to Morrisons car park),
E15 1HP

NORWICH

How we beat anti-union laws in the past and how we can do it today

Thu 10 Dec, 7.30pm,
Vauxhall Centre,
Johnson Place,
NR2 2SA

NOTTINGHAM

Why we sell Socialist Worker—the role of the revolutionary paper

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
International
Community Centre,
61b Mansfield Rd,
NG1 3FN

OXFORD

The Prevent Strategy—institutional Islamophobia

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Restore, Manzil Way (off
Cowley Rd), OX4 1YH

POOLE

From Syriza to Corbyn—can reformism work?

Mon 7 Dec, 7.30pm,
The Blue Boar pub,
(near multi storey car park)
29 Market Close, BH15 1NE

PORTSMOUTH

Why we celebrate the Russian revolution

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Somerset Central,
Rivers St, PO5 4EY

PLYMOUTH

Thu 26 Nov, 7pm,
Quaker House,
74 Mutley Plain,
PL4 6LF

WOLVERHAMPTON/ WALSALL

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Irish Mbassy,
Lichfield St,
Wolverhampton,
WV1 1EQ

SHEFFIELD: CITY CENTRE

When revolts ended wars

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
Central United Reformed
Church, 60 Norfolk St (near
the Crucible theatre), S1 2JB

SOUTHAMPTON

Why are women still unequal today?

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Central Baptist Church Hall,
Devonshire Rd,
SO15 2GY

STALBANS

In or out? What should socialists say about the EU referendum?

Wed 2 Dec, 7.30pm,
Upstairs Trinity Church Hall,
1 Beaconsfield Rd
(near St Albans City
station), AL1 3RD

SWANSEA

Suffragettes—how did women win the vote?

Thu 3 Dec, 7.30pm,
Brynmill Community Centre,
St Albans Rd, SA2 0BP

TELFORD

From coal mines to call centres—how has the working class changed?

Thu 26 Nov, 7.30pm,
Oddfellows Arms,
65 High St, Wellington,
TF1 1JT

WIGAN

How we beat anti-union laws in the past and how we can do it today

Wed 25 Nov, 7pm,
Little Fifteen pub,
17-19 Wallgate (opposite
Wigan Post Office),
WN1 1LD

YORK

The Prevent Strategy—institutional Islamophobia

Wed 25 Nov, 7.30pm,
Sea Horse Hotel,
4 Fawcett St,
YO10 4AH

{ MOVEMENT EVENTS }

CARDIFF

Refugees welcome here

Rally,
Wed 2 Dec, 7.30pm,
Oasis Refugee Support Centre,
69b Splott Rd, Cardiff,
CF24 2BW,
Organised by Stand
up to Racism

DORCHESTER

Disability, oppression and the fight for socialism

Sat 5 Dec, 1.30pm,
Colliton Club, (opposite County
Hall), Colliton Park, DT1 1XJ.
Organised by Dorset Socialists

LONDON

Build the fight against austerity—rally

Sat 21 Nov, 1-5pm,
Westminster Central Hall,
1 Storey Gate, SW1H 9NH.
Organised by the Trade
Union Coordinating Group
tucg.org.uk

NATIONAL

People's Assembly National Conference

Sat 5 Dec,
Friends Meeting House,
173-177 Euston Rd,
Thu 30 Jun - Mon 4 July,
London, NW1 2BJ
thepeoplesassembly.org.uk

Marxism 2016

Festival hosted by the SWP,
Thu 30 Jun - Mon 4 July,
Central London

SCOTLAND

No Racism: Refugees Welcome Here

March and rally.
Sat 28 Nov, assemble
10.30am at Glasgow Green
to march at 11.30am.
Rally 12 noon,
Glasgow Film Theatre,
Rose St, G3 6RB.
Organised by the STUC

CONTACT THE SWP

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Email

enquires@swp.org.uk

Post PO Box 42184,

London SW8 2WD

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Hunger Games' finale is a bittersweet tale of defiance

The bleak Hunger Games book and film saga speaks to a generation. The final instalment, *Mockingjay* part 2, shows why it's so popular, writes **Dave Sewell**

THE FOURTH and final film in the *Hunger Games* saga opens with its young hero Katniss Everdeen (Jennifer Lawrence) in hospital, voiceless and badly bruised.

She'd been strangled by the tortured and brainwashed lover she spent the whole of the previous film trying to rescue.

Now the people nursing her voice back to health are also putting words in her mouth. And the torment is only just beginning.

It's no spoiler that *Mockingjay* part 2 ends in a revolution.

Visually it takes its cue from the real life civil war in Syria. Katniss and her comrades walk through a cityscape of rubble.

The slaughter unleashed by ruthless President Snow (Donald Sutherland) has forced the uprising a long way from the demonstrations and riots seen earlier in the series.

It has pushed all opposition into the camp of heavily armed faction District 13 and its equally ruthless leader Alma Coin (Julianne Moore).

Though an expert archer, Katniss is kept from the front lines. Instead she is used as a propaganda symbol to inspire the rebellion.

Choreographed

It's all carefully choreographed by Plutarch Heavensbee (Philip Seymour Hoffman), the defected state media guru who used to run Snow's *Hunger Games*.

These deadly contests were televised to intimidate the regime's enemies.

As one survivor points out, that sense of spectacle remains central to the conflict. Another struggles to tell what's real from what isn't.

Katniss speaks most powerfully when she throws the scripts away.



SCENES OF war-torn cities are reminiscent of images from the Syrian civil war

PICTURE: LGUKPUBLICITY

She calls for those Snow has kept divided to unite against their real enemy.

If anything her story is missing the genuine joy and participation that revolt can bring. But the towering success of such a bleak series says a lot about our time.

Hunger Games has inspired a genre of imitations and is progressively breaking records set by *Harry Potter* a decade earlier.

Its most obvious influence, Japanese cult classic *Battle Royale*, dates back to just 2000.

Their shared theme of adolescents

forced to kill each other speaks to a generation driven to stress by constant competition.

It's a far cry from the 2005 adaptation of *V for Vendetta* which inspired the masked protests earlier this month.

Jubilation

That film ends in jubilation as the regime melts away.

Katniss's victory is hard fought and bittersweet. But it too can inspire.

Protesters in Thailand were even arrested last year for copying her three fingered salute.

Despite its epic sweep, the *Hunger Games* is at heart a personal story all about Katniss.

Life under Snow's regime has taught her to be pessimistic and distrustful, hoping for nothing beyond the survival of those she cares about.

But it also makes even that aim impossible.

As she says of Snow, "Nothing good is safe as long as he's alive."

And perhaps her defiance in the face of never-ending nightmares offers a bit more solace in a cruel society. In the end, it makes her aim truer than anyone's.

Release of 'lost' radical poem is cause to celebrate

POETRY

PERCY SHELLEY

Poetical Essay: The Existing State of Things

AFTER SOME backroom profiteering, Percy Shelley's *Poetical Essay: The Existing State of Things* has been made public some 200 years after it was thought lost.

The 19 year old calls for a "total reform in the licentiousness, luxury, depravity, prejudice, which involves society".

A fiery denunciation of war and oppression, the abuse of press and politics, the poem goes further, asking if "rank corruption" shall "pass unheeded by".

It was seditious, "Let Reason mount the Despot's mouldering throne/And bid an injured nation cease to moan."

Shelley's hatred of war was one of the forces that "hurt him into poetry".

Shelley rages against the "cold advisers of yet colder kings ... who



Percy Shelley

scheme, regardless of the poor man's pang,/Who coolly sharpen misery's sharpest fang,/Yourselves secure."

Shelley became an even better political poet. But it is an early statement of his political views. It was written to support Irish journalist Peter Finnerty.

Finnerty was jailed for libelling Viscount Castlereagh, the politician who was sent to Ireland in 1797 to crush the United Irishmen rebelling against British rule. Finnerty

denounced Castlereagh's repression and the conduct of the British army in the Napoleonic wars.

Shelley placed an advertisement in the local paper announcing the new work, a *Poetical Essay*, "for assisting to maintain in prison Peter Finnerty", for sale "price two shillings".

The poem was a fundraiser for a dangerous cause. That enough is reason to celebrate its publication.

Simon Basketter

EXHIBITION

RESILIENCE—EXHIBITION ORGANISED BY NATIONAL GALLERY STRIKERS

PCS Union Headquarters, London SW11 2LN. Open 10am-5pm Mon-Fri until 22 November

THIS EXHIBITION will feature art work by workers at the National Gallery, who struck for 111 days this year against privatisation.

It features work responding to the strike as well as pieces by campaign supporters, plus banners and posters from the strike.

DRAMA

THE MAN IN THE HIGH CASTLE

Series on Amazon Prime. Episodes 1 and 2 out now, whole season from 20 November

THIS HIGHLY awaited series adapts the classic novel by Philip K Dick—in which the allies lost the Second World War.

The former US is divided between Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. Rufus Sewell as Obergruppenführer John Smith is particularly creepy.

Fans of the book may miss



Rufus Sewell as John Smith

its philosophising. But its themes of authenticity and human freedom still come to the fore.

TOP 5 BOOKS

Bestsellers at Bookmarks, the socialist Bookshop

- On Palestine**
Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé
- Marxism and Women's Liberation**
Judith Orr
- Marxism and Ecology**
Martin Empson
- Revolutionary History: Clara Zetkin: Letters and Writings**
Editors: Mike Jones, Ben Lewis
- This Changes Everything**
Naomi Klein

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bookmarksbookshop.co.uk
Why not visit the shop at 1 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QE

THE union leaders are a peculiar bunch. One minute they say we'll resist this and strike against that. But the next it's all about compromising and holding back.

Why is this—and what can we do about it?

Two months ago the Big Four union leaders were competing to be the most radical in opposing the Trade Union Bill.

Sir Paul Kenny, then leader of the GMB union, said if “someone had to go to prison, I would go up first”.

Len McCluskey deleted the words “so far as may be lawful” from his Unite union's constitution.

Yet the pinnacle of the TUC's efforts has been a lobby of Tory MPs to get more parliamentary opposition.

And parliament could only ever make the draconian bill “a little bit better”, as Scottish National Party MP Chris Stephens put it.

The Tories ensured even that didn't happen. The amended bill in the Lords looks much like the bill presented to parliament.

TUC head Frances O'Grady said the campaign is “far from over”. Mirroring her strategy, Unison union leader Dave Prentis hopes to have a “positive influence on its passage through the House of Lords”.

When the Big Four gave evidence at the bill's committee stage their willingness to adapt to new laws was clear.

Erupt

Prentis was opposed to the bill “as worded at the moment”. Kenny was keen to “find something workable” so that workers' frustrations don't “erupt in a way that is not controllable”.

McCluskey added, “The one thing that we want when our members are out on strike is to get them back into work.”

What happened to all that fighting talk?

A pessimism about working class action limits what union leaders think is possible. But it's more than that.

Workers are obliged to sell their labour power to employers. They have a direct interest in seeing off attacks to their wages, jobs or terms and conditions to maintain their living standards.

Union leaders don't. Daily reality for them is not job insecurity, bullying bosses or struggling to make ends meet.

Any agreement will not affect their salary and benefits. And they are under intense pressure from bosses to quickly resolve disputes that are disruptive to stable bargaining.

The union leaders' role as a mediator between bosses and workers means they see their job as preventing strikes and confrontation. They seek



UNITE UNION leader Len McCluskey

FRIENDS WITH TWO FACES

Trade union leaders talked a good fight against the Tories' new bill, but never delivered one. Raymie Kiernan looks at why the officials hold back—and what we can do about it



The god Janus

compromise, not the bosses' defeat. This is why they are content with lobbying MPs and Lords to oppose the bill.

Tony Cliff, the revolutionary socialist who founded the Socialist Workers Party, noted that the trade union bureaucracy is a “distinct, basically conservative, social formation”.

“Like the god Janus it presents two faces—it balances between the employers and the workers,” he said.

The bureaucracy's political



After a show of hands workers walked out, defied the law and got results

loyalty to the Labour Party is the other side of this conservatism.

They need to show results for their members, and don't see workers' action as able to deliver it. Labour offers them another route, and this comes to take precedence.

Struggles are put on hold, cut short or sold out if they are seen as a risk to Labour's image.

Prentis and co crave respectability. They prefer to adapt to the anti-union laws and police their own members over calling

the kind of national strikes that can beat the Tories.

“Illegal” action that threatens the preservation of the union machine is avoided.

An anti-austerity mood could fuel mass industrial action against the Tories, if it was called. This isn't even entertained as an option.

But the Tories want to block strikes against more austerity because they are an effective tool. We should use our best weapon to stop them before they stop us.

Anti-union laws have been beaten back in the past and can be again. And despite the existing anti-union laws, unofficial action is not part of some bygone era.

In a series of very recent disputes workers have refused to let the law stand in their way.

Postal workers in Somerset walked out last week to defend a disabled colleague. Their unofficial action won concessions. Another wildcat strike at two delivery offices in Plymouth against the use of agency workers last month forced bosses to retreat.

Staff at the Soas university in London walked out three times to demand the reinstatement of a victimised union branch secretary. They won within a week.

IN EACH case workers didn't wait for a legal ballot or the permission of union officials. After a show of hands they walked out, defied the law and got results. No one went to jail.

But Tory leaders know that the union leaders are unlikely to cause them trouble. O'Grady drove the point home.

She argued that the bill was unnecessary since “just one half of one ten-thousandth of a percent of all working days” were “lost” to strikes in the past year.

This doesn't mean that workers are seething mass ready to fight, held back only by union leaders. But nor is it true that the working class has been clobbered so hard that everyone is demoralised.

Fights have broken out under the Tories at both local and national levels with their own strengths and weaknesses. We need to spread key lessons.

Victories have been achieved because solidarity helped sustain struggles beyond one-day strikes. These involved action from below and linked the industrial fight to resisting the wider austerity agenda.

Homelessness caseworkers in Glasgow, hospital porters in Dundee and National Gallery staff in London did this with all-out strikes and won significant victories.

And while the dispute is not yet resolved, the Tube strikes in London over the summer showed the power of coordinated action.

Workers ended disputes after prolonged strikes at Defence Support Group—for

16 days—and Lambeth College—42 days—in the past year with more than they started with.

Doncaster Care UK workers in Unison offered people a lead to fight privatisation in the NHS with 90 days of strikes that should have won more.

But Dave Prentis's picket line pledge to get “the solidarity of our union behind you” turned out hollow.

The dispute ended almost a year ago. Around that same time Prentis and Unison local government officer Heather Wakefield were selling members in local government a rotten pay deal.

Ending a dispute that didn't fit with Labour's election priorities was more important than leading a fight to win a decent pay rise for some of the lowest paid public sector workers.

Now both bureaucrats are fighting each other for the general secretary post. Unlike rank and file candidate John Burgess, they offer only more of the same.

Left wing union leaders can make a difference. They can help raise confidence at the rank and file where right wingers snuff it out.

But left or right, union bureaucrats are all subject to the same conservative forces.

Through all of these disputes networks of solidarity have developed. In small ways, in some sectors, they form the embryos that can grow into rank and file organisation.

They are concrete examples of how workers can beat bosses and pressure union leaders to act.

Last weekend's Unite the Resistance conference is an example of how we can bring together workplace militants and left officials that want to see a fight and

generalise the best experiences.

Jeremy Corbyn's election as Labour leader has raised the hopes of working class militants inside and outside the unions.

But the danger in not fighting for a tradition centred on workers' struggle is that the “wait for Labour” strategy subordinates the struggles to the 2020 election.

Union leaders may be happy to wait another four years. The rest of us don't have that luxury.

Recent strikes at

Care UK (left) and Lambeth College (top).

Unison's Dave Prentis visiting pickets (above).

ALL PICTURES: GUY SMALLMAN

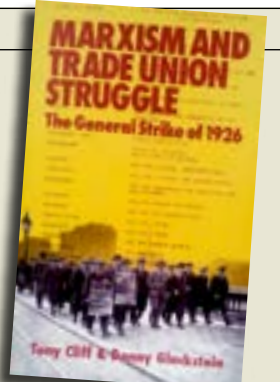
READ MORE

● **The rank and file and the trade union bureaucracy** by Ralph Darlington in International Socialism Journal 142. isj.org.uk/the-rank-and-file-and-the-trade-union-bureaucracy/

● **When the law lost—how mass strikes freed the Pentonville Five** bit.ly/1ln71Kb

● **Marxism and trade union struggle** by Tony Cliff and Donny Gluckstein. Newly republished, £9.99

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to bookmarksbookshop.co.uk



COMMENT

Trans people's fight needs solidarity—not exclusion

Transgender people face prejudice and violence. **Laura Miles** takes issue with those who fail to support their struggle

TRANSGENDER people and their supporters will commemorate this week the many trans people who have been murdered during the last year (see box).

Violence against transgender people remains appallingly high, despite advances such as same sex marriage and the 2004 UK Gender Recognition Act.

Institutional transphobia remains a major issue.

It took a big public campaign recently to ensure that Tara Hudson was sent to a female rather than all male prison in Bristol.

In the US transphobia, racism and poverty means nearly half of all black trans women will go to prison.

Institutional transphobia and medical prejudice were major factors in the death of US trans activist and revolutionary socialist Leslie Feinberg who died last November from late-diagnosed Lyme disease.

The impact of cuts and austerity in Britain is another important trans issue.

Resources

Resources for LGBT help lines and support groups have been drastically cut.

Trans people seeking referral and help from the NHS have been badly hit by cuts. This is at a time when rapidly rising numbers of trans people, especially children, are seeking referral.

The Tavistock and Portman NHS Trust in London which runs the only clinic for young transgender people has seen referrals increase by 500 percent in five years.

Many transgender people wait years for appointments without clinical or psychological help, trying to cope with the risks of suicide, depression and self-harm.

Access to health care is a major issue for trans people. Young trans people are particularly vulnerable

TRANS RIGHTS protests take place across the globe

BACK STORY

Friday of this week is Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR)

● It is to be marked by films, marches and vigils

● Activists aim to encourage groups to use it to promote awareness and media coverage of trans issues

● TDOR was launched to memorialise the still unsolved murder of Rita Hester in the US in 1998

● The website tdor.info lists others who have been killed

pace with the increasing and often desperate need for help.

The unity needed to most effectively campaign is made harder by the attitudes of some “Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminists” such as Germaine Greer.

Sadly, some feminists still oppose trans women's involvement in women's groups and reproductive rights campaigns claiming that “they are not real women”.

Protests

Greer recently faced protests from students when invited to speak at Cardiff University because of her derogatory comments on trans women and was forced to withdraw.

Though seeking to no-platform her was not the best tactic it is right to oppose her views.

The argument about who constitutes a “real woman” is important. It was infamously articulated in Janice Raymond's 1979 book *The Transsexual Empire, The Making of the She-Male*.

The argument is rooted in backward notions of the “essential” qualities of women. These ignore the fact that trans women suffer both everyday sexism as well as transphobia if perceived as transsexual.

Such trans exclusionary views are rooted in identity politics, rather than looking at how oppression is shaped by capitalist society. They divide rather than unite women and transgender people and hinder the fight against oppression and for liberation.



Sadly, some feminists still insist trans women are not real women

Halfway to catastrophe but blinkers are firmly on

Paris climate summit may fall short but a movement can grow out of opposition to it, says **Martin Empson**

UP TO 122 million more people will be in extreme poverty by 2030 as a result of global warming, according to a World Bank report released last week.

Hundreds of thousands of people already die every year due to the effects of droughts, crop failures, floods, severe weather and other effects of global warming. Many millions more are at risk.

Climate change is intensifying the inequality capitalism produces. And the world is getting hotter. The World Meteorological Office (WMO) said that global temperatures are now, on average, one degree celsius higher than pre-industrial temperatures.

That's halfway to the two degree rise that countries are supposed to stay below in order to avoid catastrophic climate change.

As Michel Jarraud, secretary-general of the WMO, said, "We are moving into uncharted territory at frightening speed".

As we get closer to the climate talks in Paris reports reinforce what we already know—that global warming is getting worse and its impacts will hit the poorest first and hardest.

Poorest

Another report in the science journal Nature concluded that "climate change will reduce average income in the poorest 40 percent of countries by 75 percent in 2100".

In the face of this it might be expected that the representatives of 190 countries gathering in Paris at the start of December will agree urgent action to reduce emissions.

Yet it looks like any agreements made will miss the crucial two degree target.

Poorer nations are demanding that richer countries also provide more finance for them to reduce emissions and mitigate the impacts of already existing warming.

But this is being resisted. That means the protests taking place

GET INVOLVED

Global protests will urge world leaders to take action to combat climate change

● Sat 28 Nov **Cardiff**
—2pm, Senedd steps, CF10 4PZ.
stopclimatechaoscymru.org

● Sat 28 Nov **Edinburgh**
—12 noon, the Meadows, EH9 9EX. stopclimatechaos.org

● Sun 29 Nov **London**
—12 noon, Park Lane, W1K 1RA.
climatejusticejobs.org.uk

in the West during the summit are even more important.

So the key protests in Britain are demonstrations in Cardiff and Glasgow on Saturday 28 November and London on Sunday 29 November.

The Paris conference is likely to lead to an agreement that falls far short of what is needed.

But the protest movement that rises in opposition to the sellout can gain confidence and the strength to fight on.



Marching in London in March this year

THE GREENLAND ice sheet, one of the biggest and fastest-melting chunks of ice on earth, will drive up sea levels in the coming decades. Its full melting could increase sea levels by about 20 feet

Let's seize this opportunity to build a fight against the climate wreckers

by **JUDITH ORR**

ACROSS THE world people are getting organised to protest during the summit. Demonstrations have been called in cities including New York and Berlin on 28 and 29 November as the summit begins.

Students are encouraged to skip school as part of a global Climate Strike involving groups from Benin and China to Zambia and Nepal. In Britain the protests are backed by over 60 national organisations—from trade unions and the National Union of Students to NGOs.

Local groups and union



Lara Kaiser

branches have booked and begun to fill coaches, such as the Portsmouth City Unison union branch.

Around 100 people attended a mobilising meeting at Manchester University on Thursday of last week. Other meetings brought 50 people to York and 90 to Chesterfield.

The high point had been set to be in Paris itself, with plans for mass rallies, debates and widespread civil disobedience.

But the French government's state of emergency called after the Paris attacks last week could affect the demo. It must not be allowed to get away with using terrorism as an excuse to defend

the polluters who are destroying the environment. If the demo is banned, those who oppose climate chaos must be prepared to defy it.

This is not the first time climate summits have been met with international protests.

The last high water mark was around the Copenhagen talks in 2009, when the deals that will be revised in Paris were made.

Then many had high hopes in the talks—and particularly in new US president Barack Obama. They were disoriented when those hopes were betrayed.

But now many protesters are ready for a longer fight.

Hastings student Lara Kaiser told Socialist Worker, "I don't think anything is going to come out of the summit—that's exactly why it's important to protest."

"People can never get their hopes up about politicians. They talk all high and mighty about how they are going to do something. But there needs to be a lot of investment that they aren't prepared to do."

"The people who have the power to change that are the protesters and activists who can put pressure on them."

IN BRIEF

GMB elects new general secretary

TIM ROACHE has been elected as general secretary of the GMB, the third largest trade union in Britain.

Roache, the GMB Yorkshire and North Derbyshire regional secretary, won with 15,034 votes. His challenger Paul McCarthy, head of the North West and Irish region, garnered 11,454.

Water workers protest in Durham

DOZENS OF water workers joined a protest outside Northumbrian Water's headquarters in Durham last Saturday.

The GMB and Unite union members are fighting plans slash their pensions. They have been taking action short of strike since 20 October.

Will bus stoppage get drivers a break?

OVER 200 Arriva bus drivers in Medway, Kent, have begun a ballot for industrial action over the introduction of new timetables.

Their union Unite warns the changes mean unrealistic running times on routes.

Drivers are also being kept at the wheel for five and a half hours with as little as four minutes "recovery" time.

The ballot closes on Wednesday 25 November.

Two-day rail strike called off in Wales

A 48-HOUR strike by train drivers at Arriva Wales last week was suspended following "important progress in last minute talks" the drivers' RMT rail union said.

The dispute is around pay and safe working conditions.

Leicester fire crews protest over cuts

SOME 100 firefighters protested in Leicester last Saturday against cuts.

Bosses at Leicestershire Fire and Rescue Service want to sack a third of staff, close two stations and replace some fire engines with smaller vehicles.

Firefighter Sam Greasley said, "Turnout times would be extended to about 12 minutes. That is not good enough."

London's teachers demand housing

AROUND 30 teachers met last Wednesday to launch a London teachers housing campaign.

NUT union deputy general secretary Kevin Courtney introduced the NUT's survey of young London teachers. Only 3 percent said they could afford a home, and 20 percent lived with parents.

Other speakers included Eileen Short from Defend Council Housing.

Emma Davis

STUDENTS



STUDENTS AT the University of Manchester walked out in protest against Islamophobia and discrimination against international students on Tuesday of this week. The Student Assembly was set to hold its national convention in London this Saturday

PICTURE: LEWIS NIELSEN

CIVIL SERVICE WORKERS

Government slashes jobs with HMRC cuts

SOME 8,000 jobs could be slashed after HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) announced plans to close 137 tax offices last week.

Many more workers could lose their jobs if they can't relocate to one of 13 new regional tax centres that will replace the offices in HMRC's "modernisation" programme.

More than 10,000 HMRC jobs have been cut since 2010, with 250 offices and 281 walk-in centres already closed.

HMRC worker and PCS union NEC member Marianne Owens spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity.

She said, "In some places it's going to be devastating. The majority of people won't be able to move to the new centres."

"This means that HMRC will be able to bring in new staff on worse contracts."

She added, "It also means that some areas are going to be quite badly economically affected."

"In Bootle around 2,000

people are employed by HMRC."

PCS calls for a public consultation and a parliamentary review of the plans. They are also demanding proper negotiations with HMRC. But reviews and consultations will not be enough to save jobs.

Marianne said, "We need to

organise an industrial response in the offices that are going to close. We have to build the union and the fighting fund, and prepare for action."

Job losses in the steel industry show what can happen if closures are allowed to go through without a fight.

PCS must call a strike ballot in HMRC to stop the attacks.

DVSA STRIKE

Driving home opposition

DRIVING EXAMINERS were set to strike on Thursday and Friday of this week over changes to conditions.

Bosses at the Driver and Vehicle Standards Agency (DVSA) want to lengthen the working day.

Members of the Prospect union were also set to strike for two hours on Friday morning.

●**PCS members at Hewlett Packard in Newcastle struck for 48 hours from Friday of last week.**

The workers provide IT support for the Department for Work and Pensions pensions system. Bosses want to scrap overtime pay.

The workers are set to strike for a further 48 hours from next Friday.

FIGHTING THE CUTS

Lobby over Library cuts

AROUND 200 library campaigners joined a lobby of a Lambeth council scrutiny committee meeting on Tuesday of last week.

The Labour-run council in south London is trying to push through plans to close or run down ten libraries.

Tim O'Dell, Unison union shop steward for libraries, spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity. He said, "We were pushing for rejection, but the councillors accepted a modified version of the proposals."

"It's still boosted people—

the vote shows that we're winning the arguments."

The council will now have to look at alternatives to its preferred "social enterprise" outsourcing model.

The lobby followed a 500-strong demonstration on Saturday of last week.

Tim added, "We're now organising for another mass lobby of the full council meeting this Wednesday."

Workers also want to take action.

They are waiting for Unison to sanction an official ballot.

EDUCATION WORKERS

Build yes vote in Scotland as college pay ballot called

by **DONNY GLUCKSTEIN**

LECTURERS AT Scotland's Further Education colleges are balloting for sustained strikes over pay in the New Year.

A well attended emergency conference of their EIS union on Friday of last week voted unanimously for the ballot. They want equal pay for lecturers across Scotland and to reverse years' of declining income.

The main support staff union Unison is also balloting for action over the same issue.

The whole sector is in meltdown after enormous cuts, and loss of student places running into the hundreds of thousands.

The background to the dispute is the return of national bargaining after two decades of college by college collective bargaining.

Mergers

The SNP government used this as the sole sweetener in its programme of mergers and funding reductions.

But college principals are doing their best to scupper bargaining from the outset.

They flatly refuse the demand of equalised pay. Some offer 1 percent, others

insist this is "voluntary" and say they won't pay anything.

Anger at the decline in the service, bullying managements and inadequate resources was palpable at the EIS conference. A Scottish parliamentary enquiry has exposed the vast sums paid to departing principals when college mergers took place.

One delegate likened them to a bunch of "Scottish Sepp Blatters".

Underspend

Colleges have put away £99 million in Arms Length Foundations, hold £214 million in historic surpluses, and there was a £163 million underspend on education last year. Workers' claims would cost just £15 million to meet in full.

Further Education is the Scottish National Party's dirty secret. This dispute will expose its phoney anti-austerity rhetoric.

With Scottish elections looming, a solid campaign for a yes vote followed up by determined strikes would stand every chance of success. It will require an energetic campaign by union activists to make sure all members understand what is at stake.

UNIVERSITIES

Wave of OU strikes looms

UCU UNION members in the Open University (OU) plan a national strike on Wednesday 25 November followed by a series of regional walkouts.

The workers are fighting plans to close seven regional OU centres and the loss of around 500 jobs.

Regional centres face closure in Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Gateshead, Leeds, London and Oxford.

The following regional strikes are planned:

●Birmingham 30 November
●London 1 December
●Oxford 2 December

●Leeds 3 December
●Gateshead 4 December
●Cambridge 7 December
●Bristol 8 December
●Nottingham 9 December
●Manchester 10 December
●Belfast, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Milton Keynes national offices 11 December
●Send messages of support to ucu@open.ac.uk

■A STRIKE ballot at the University of Manchester was set to end on Friday of this week. UCU union members are balloting for action after bosses announced plans to make 68 redundancies.

TEACHERS

Small Heath strikes again

TEACHERS IN the NUT, NASUWT and ATL unions at Small Heath School in Birmingham were set to strike on Wednesday of next week. It will be the workers' fourth walkout in their fight to stop the school being turned into an academy.

Union members plan a fifth strike on 10 December.

Teachers said the school's Interim Executive Board still refuses to talk to unions about their concerns. Many

argue for escalating action.

Five NUT strikers planned to join an NUT lobby of MPs in parliament over cuts on the strike day.

●Send messages of support to banut@btclick.com

■Elections in the NUT were set to end on Wednesday of this week. Socialist Worker supports left candidates Kiri Tunks and Louise Regan for senior and junior vice presidents.

POST WORKERS

Strike delivers blow to Royal Mail bosses

by NICK CLARK

AN UNOFFICIAL post workers' walkout in Bridgwater, Somerset, has forced concessions from management.

The CWU union members walked out on Wednesday of last week in defence of disabled colleague Andrew Mootoo.

Royal Mail bosses had been keeping Andrew on sick leave since he was diagnosed with Multiple Sclerosis 18 months ago.

After initially trying to sack Andrew, bosses instead opted to keep him on sick leave for so long that his wages were stopped.

Unofficial

But the unofficial action forced them to promise serious negotiations about getting Andrew back to work.

Bridgwater CWU rep Dave Chapple told Socialist Worker, "Everyone is over the moon. Morale is sky high."

He added, "The public support has been amazing. Royal Mail are just getting slaughtered in the social media."

"And we've had well over 100 emails come through from trade unionists and disabled rights activists across Britain."

Managers have now begun



POST WORKERS on unofficial strike

PICTURE: JANA BRANECKA

disciplinary proceedings against Dave and another rep. Socialist Worker understands that bosses had initially threatened to suspend Dave if the CWU did not repudiate the strike.

But the CWU refused to repudiate. And the striking workers only agreed to go back to work on Thursday morning after it was clear that Dave would not be

suspended. He says the CWU is prepared to defend him and the other rep if bosses take disciplinary action.

Dave also warned that workers could be out again. "Management have agreed to negotiate about Andrew. But so far there's no form of words agreed," he explained.

"We expect Royal Mail to take the question of getting Andrew Mootoo back to work

seriously. If that doesn't take place it's possible we'll go back out again."

The walkout follows another successful unofficial strike against the use of agency workers at two delivery offices in nearby Plymouth last month.

The walkouts show that it is possible to defy anti-union laws—and that unofficial action gets results.

ANTI-RACISM

'We need an open border policy,' protesters demand

UP TO 500 people rallied outside Downing Street in central London on Thursday night of last week.

Stand Up to Racism (SUTR) organised the protest to launch its winter appeal. Its joint secretaries Weyman Bennett and Sabby Dhalu spoke about worsening conditions for refugees.

A number of students told Socialist Worker they were on their first protest. Mary said, "I don't agree with what David Cameron is doing—we need an open border policy."

College student Nasima added, "The more people show their anger the more the government will have to take refugees in."

A large contingent from Kurdish and Turkish organisation Day-Mer, protesting against Turkish bombing of Kurdish areas, joined the rally.

Abdullah said, "Imperialist powers are starting wars that force us to leave."

Hundreds marched through Colchester in Essex last Saturday



Student Mary (left)

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

to welcome refugees arriving in the town.

And fascists failed to disrupt a 200-strong protest in Portsmouth. It was against the council's disgraceful decision to take itself off the list of towns receiving refugees. Campaigner Simon Magorian told Socialist Worker, "We are not going away and we will continue our campaign."

●SUTR is encouraging activists to raise money for it to take to Calais on Saturday 12 December. For details go to standuptoracism.org.uk

ANTI-FASCISM



PICTURE: NEIL TERRY

Bradford refuses to let EDL exploit child abuse scandal

by SADIE ROBINSON

UP TO 100 people rallied against the racist English Defence League (EDL) in Bradford, West Yorkshire, last Saturday (above).

The EDL has latched onto a local child sexual exploitation (CSE) court case to try and whip up Islamophobia. But its "national protest" mustered fewer than 100.

We Are Bradford and Unite Against Fascism (UAF) called the protest. Mukhtar Ali from We Are Bradford told Socialist Worker, "We are sending a signal that we won't be divided."

Police had visited mosques the day before urging people not to turn out against the EDL. But protesters were clear that ignoring racism won't make it go away.

Local Sam said, "If we ignore them, they'll just think they can do what they like."

UCU union member Lesley

McGorrigan denounced the EDL for using abuse cases for their own ends. "We all stand against those kind of crimes," she told the rally. "But it's not a Muslim issue and we stand against attempts to divide us."

●More on socialistworker.co.uk

■ANTI-RACISTS outnumbered the racist Scottish Defence League (SDL) by two to one in Monkton, near Glasgow, last Sunday.

The SDL was protesting against the Adamton Country House Hotel offering to shelter 150 refugees. More than 200 people joined a Glasgow Campaign to Welcome Refugees counter protest.

■South Yorkshire Police have charged 19 men with offences following a Britain First protest in Rotherham, South Yorkshire, on 5 September.

Some 400 people had joined a UAF protest on the day. Anti-racists in Rotherham are planning a defence campaign.

CONSTRUCTION

Bosses get injunction to stop demos in Teesside

BUILDING BOSSES Suez have been granted an injunction against protests by construction workers in Haverton Hill in Teesside.

Suez is part of a consortium building a £200 million energy-from-waste plant at Wilton.

Protests have been held for more than six months over claims the consortium Sita Sembcorp UK is undercutting wages for migrant workers.

The injunction against trespass and the blockading of Suez's site applies to protest organiser Tony Seaman, the Teesside Construction Committee and its supporters.

Activists say bosses on the site are not conforming

to nationally agreed terms and conditions.

They have also been protesting at a lack of union access to workers at the project. This follows on-going concerns about health and safety.

Unions accused the company of using "legal diversionary tactics" to avoid talks.

The Unite union called on bosses to focus efforts on settling the wage rates dispute "instead of hiding behind court injunctions to divert attention from the core issues."

The construction protests were set to continue as Socialist Worker went to press.

Simon Basketter

FAST FOOD RIGHTS

FAST FOOD Rights campaigners protested across Britain on Tuesday of last week.

They were demanding £10 an hour and union rights for fast food workers.

In Salford members of the Fast Food Rights campaign protested inside a McDonald's branch and outside the company's North West headquarters.

Activists in south London leafleted customers outside a McDonald's in Brixton.

The GMB union also held a number of protests on the same day.

The action was timed to coincide with a US fast food workers' strike.

Their strike was part of a long running battle for \$15 dollars an hour minimum wage and union rights.

Fast Food Rights campaigners were set to protest in Lincoln this Saturday.

●For more information go to fastfoodrights.wordpress.com

INTERNATIONALISM

Protesters target Modi's state visit

HUNDREDS OF protesters confronted Indian prime minister Narendra Modi when he visited Downing Street last Thursday.

Modi heads the right wing populist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). As chief minister of the state of Gujarat in 2002, Modi oversaw pogroms against Muslims that left an estimated 2,000 people dead.

Around 1,000 people joined another protest the following day when Modi and David Cameron spoke in front of 60,000 people at Wembley Stadium.

The spectacle at Wembley was used to hide Modi's human rights abuses.

The activists outside were different groups from Britain, Pakistan and India who were all campaigning against the atrocities that Modi has watched over.

Antony Hamilton

BUILD A BIGGER FIGHT FOR STEEL

by DAVE SEWELL

AS STEEL unions prepared for a mass rally against job losses in Sheffield this Saturday bosses warned of deeper cuts.

Job losses at Tata plants in Lanarkshire and Lincolnshire will bring the sackings this year to 5,000—around a fifth of the total steel industry.

But Tata is also looking to dump its whole “long products” division.

And Wolfgang Eder, head of the bosses’ World Steel Association said last week years of job cuts across Europe were “inevitable”—with or without subsidies.

Halved

He called for the European steel capacity to be halved. If the workforce is cut at the same rate it would mean around 165,000 job losses.

Areas hit by steel job losses have seen more layoffs.

In Teesside another 360 jobs are being cut at a Potash mine and 700 from tax office closures (see page 18).

It comes after the



MARCHING IN Scunthorpe against Tata layoffs earlier this month

PICTURE: NEIL TERRY

devastating closures of nearby Redcar steel works last month, followed by scrapping a project to build a power plant.

North Lanarkshire Council is also axing 1,500 jobs.

About 200 people marched last Sunday

through Motherwell protesting against job losses at Tata Steel and the council.

The march ended at a rally at Motherwell Civic Centre with speakers from Unison, CWU and EIS unions.

One steel worker, aged 53, who has worked for

37 years in the industry asked who was going to employ him now.

Michelle Gibb, a home carer, said home carers are to be privatised.

She thinks vulnerable people will be left sitting at home, with no one speaking

up for them.

“Councils have invested years of training in their staff. All that is now going down the drain,” she said.

Michelle was critical of news the Scottish government has underspent by £350 million.

She said, “It’s not just North Lanarkshire Council, it’s the Scottish Government. It’s time they stood up. If they can’t deliver—get out!”

Sunday’s march follows big marches in Motherwell and Scunthorpe earlier this month.

Protest

Unions could count on immense goodwill if they led a fight.

They could mobilise tens of thousands of people for a national protest.

But their demands have focused on measures to boost bosses’ profits in the aim of creating a “level playing field” to compete against foreign rivals.

In reality steel bosses worldwide hope to make cuts to address “overcapacity” as China’s economy slows down.

And these cuts are going ahead despite even crisis-hit Tata still raking in profits.

These jobs are needed and so is the steel they produce.

If private bosses cut them the steel industry must be nationalised.

Thanks to Alan Thomson

HEALTH SERVICE

As BMA sets strike dates it’s time to support junior doctors

by TOMÁŠ TENGEŁY-EVANS

JUNIOR DOCTORS will strike three times next month if they back industrial action in a ballot ending on Wednesday of this week.

The British Medical Association (BMA) said its members would only provide “emergency care” on 1 December, with “full withdrawals of labour” on 8 and 16 December.

Up to 500 junior doctors and supporters protested in Birmingham last Sunday. Everyone needs to get behind their dispute.

Yannis Gourtsoyannis

sits on the BMA’s junior doctors’ committee. He told Socialist Worker, “If you’re a union member, send a message of support and get in touch with your local BMA branch.”

“In the longer run, put pressure on your own union to come out in support of us.”

Tory health secretary Jeremy Hunt wants to impose new contracts that would rip apart terms and conditions and put patient safety at risk.

Petra Hanson, who was on the Birmingham

protest, said, “It’s really bad for patients. They will have doctors who are tired or want to leave medicine, which will leave the NHS in a bad position.”

We want to work safe



Junior doctors protesting in Birmingham

hours and provide the best patient care.”

The dispute is part of the fight to defend the NHS and support is growing. Karen Reissmann, Unison union health executive member, said, “I’ve not met a single health worker who doesn’t support the junior doctors.”

Unison union rep Sam Strudwick said people need to build solidarity.

“We’ve been petitioning and making signs in support of the

junior doctors—there’s been a lot of support.”

Doctors in east London are planning to hold a meeting on 23 November to build support for the walkouts.

Rory Hicks from Manchester told Socialist Worker, “We’re planning a demo the Saturday before the strike. I think we’d get 10,000 onto the streets.”

Unison leader Dave Prentis said he’d fight any attack on unsocial hours pay but has done little. Other unions need to ballot and join the junior doctors.

Thanks to Taz Ali

Workers spoke in a personal capacity

DEMO OVER THE AUTUMN STATEMENT

TORIES: OUT OF CREDIT —OUT OF OFFICE NOW

TUE 24 NOV 6PM

Trafalgar Square
(march to Downing Street)

Part of a national day of action against Autumn statement

More details of local demos
thepeoplesassembly.org.uk